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ADDRESS OF HON. JAMES W. BEEKMAN.*

MR. CHAIRMAN: What good is it possible to do for AFRICA by such labors as colonization has put forth? Can a continent which travellers agree in describing as one uniform, immense expanse of vice and misery, be civilized by such feeble means?

The learned Buckle asserts that civilization depends upon natural causes. He says the Nile made Egypt the seat of wealth and culture, because it made Egypt fertile. The Arabs in *Arabia Deserta* were barbarous, but when transported into pleasant Spain they became illustrious Saracens, brilliant in arts and literature. Excepting the Egyptians, the other nations of Africa have never been able to work out their own progress, or to emerge in any degree from the ignorance to which the penury of nature has doomed them. In Hindostan, as in Egypt, abject and eternal slavery was the condition of the great body of the people, to which they were devoted by *physical laws*, utterly impossible to resist. They had cheap food, RICE, as the Egyptians had *dates*. Like the Egyptians, too, the people of India toiled for a few taskmasters, and have left vast architectural monuments of their skill and labor. Such wondrous piles of buildings abound also in Peru, but not in *Brazil*, where as in continental Africa, the gross luxuriance of nature has choked the growth of man, and kept him a barbarian. Herds of cattle in the meadows of Brazil trample out the work of the tiller. Animal and insect life overpower him, and his numbers hardly increase. On the same continent, however, and in almost the same latitude, the Incas of Peru founded their wondrous empire. So Thebes and Luxor, in Egypt, stand

* Delivered at the Thirty-sixth Anniversary of the New York State Colonization Society, in New York city, May 12, 1868.

in like contrast with barbarian Africa, which is fated, say some philosophers, to be forever a jungle. They forget that in Central America, the cities of Uxmal, Palenque, and many vast palaces and temples in Mexico, all overgrown with tropical vegetation, stand to-day deserted. These great structures must have been built in spite of a climate like that which is supposed to condemn architecture in Africa, forever, to bamboo huts and nests of sticks built in the forks of high trees.

There must be a better theory to explain the condition of the continent of the black race. It is the theory of *time*. In the Providence of God, nations and centuries are as very little things. Africa has been shut in by its deadly climate from the European world, and reserved for our days, like Pompeii. The fulness of time had not come to pass sooner. Travellers had been waiting for the discovery of quinine. Not until the printing press became universal were such inventions as have since ennobled the human race, *possible*; and the steam-engine and the telegraph could only grow out of a general intellectual activity over the whole reading world. The maps of Africa have at last lost the familiar words, in large letters, "*unknown regions*,"—words which told how little geographers had to say. Now is our opportunity. Inquisitive Mahomedans, from the interior, are the guests of Liberian professors in Monrovia, and carry home with them Arabic Testaments. Colored evangelists are to be the means of civilizing Africa, for the climate, deadly to whites, is to them kindly and wholesome. Such colored evangelists the American Colonization Society has been rearing and educating, because we are persuaded that the plow, the loom, and the Bible will go together into the country, and that Africa will be civilized by her sons.

There are students of history who insist that the Theocratic Government abjured by Israel in the time of Samuel, is soon to be re-established by the coming of the Lord. The brilliant days of antiquity were those of Hebrew Theocracy, and the empire of Solomon shone in the splendor of direct revelation. Each nation as it took by remoter tradition its knowledge of religion, faded also in civilization, as the Greeks, the Romans, the Saracens, each more darkly than the other, lapsed into idolatry and degradation. In these our days, by the universal light of

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printed Bibles, and printed thoughts, in all tongues spoken among men, Christianity lifts unchecked her standards in all lands. At Constantinople, at Cairo, at Beirut, in Hindostan, in China, in Japan, the Gospel is preached, and how long will it be ere Ethiopia shall see the coming brightness, and stretch forth her hands also unto God, even as it is written?

The Colonization Society aims at breaking up slavery by giving value to the native African. We do not desire so much to send to Liberia sinews as brains. We need civilized settlers—men with WANTS. The native tribes can furnish the muscle. We hope to send educated black men, to use native labor in subduing the soil, in making roads to the more healthy interior country, while the reading immigrant is busy in teaching schools. We desire to make Africa as tempting a home to American men of color as this land is to the Irish or German emigrant. The four millions of blacks who were held in slavery in the Southern States six years ago, will, as freedmen, furnish a large number of clever men, who are willing to return to their fatherland. Liberia is a civilized community. In the State House at Monrovia are thirteen treaties of recognition by foreign Powers. Churches, schools, and home comforts meet the new comer, and he merely removes, like a true American, to a new abode.

But can we spare these emigrants? Who will be our farm laborers in the hot climate of the Sea Islands? Who will raise our rice, grow our cotton, make our sugar? All these things have long been done in Southern Europe by whites. The rice-growers of Lombardy may follow their calling in Carolina. No forcible expulsion of the blacks is ever to be thought of. The clever ones will go, as the brightest Yankees are said to have peopled the West, while the dull ones staid at home, and worked.

Reverently, yet wisely, spoke that good missionary, *Bowen*, who knew Africa well, when he said that God perhaps punished *America* by sending her the blacks as slaves—the guilt of the enslavement being expiated by our national suffering; but for Africa there was no way of blessing so grand as this educating a whole nation of missionary blacks—who went away barbarians but would come back *civilized Christians*, with the axe

and the Bible to open highways, and build school houses, and save souls.

Liberia is a success. The blessings of God have descended upon it; and although thousands of American settlers, villages, churches, schools, a College of higher learning, may be but the feeble beginnings of a nation, they are, nevertheless, the *acorns* from which true hearts of oak grow out.

"The Power that did create, can change the scene
Of things—make mean of great, and great of mean,
The brightest glory can eclipse with night,
And place the most obscure in dazzling light."*

FOR THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

A WORD IN BEHALF OF AFRICA.

To the Colored People of America :

DEAR BRETHREN: Permit one who is identified with you by race, by birth, and by a common Christianity, and who has spent over fifteen years, nearly half of his life, in endeavoring to advance the interests of Christ's kingdom in this land, to call your attention to one or two considerations which he thinks ought to have weight with you in behalf of Africa, the land of your fathers.

The last half century, as you know, has been fraught with signal providences in regard to Africa and Africans, both at home and in foreign lands. The practical commencement of the Colonization scheme in 1820, the British West India emancipation in 1833, the vigorous inauguration and prosecution of the Missionary enterprise by European and American Christians in this country, the noble spirit of African exploration which has manifested itself in these late years, and the disenfranchisement of four millions of Africans in the United States of America, all form a chain of incidents, which, to my mind, portend grand and thrilling results in connection with our race. All appear to be preliminary steps under the control of the Great Arbiter of human events, looking to some intended weal for our long-despised and down-trodden people. What this great good is hardly admits of a question. The evangel-

* Wordsworth.

ization and elevation of this land—its conquest for Christ seems the intended boon. The raising of the one hundred and sixty millions of this contry from ignorance, superstition, vice, and misery, to the life and light of the glorious Gospel of Christ.

If this be a correct view to take of these indications, then you can readily see that you, brethren, four millions of Africans and their descendants in the United States of America, have a very important part to take in this grand enterprise; and it is to this that I beg, in a few words, to call your attention.

There can be no doubt that Christian ministers and laymen of African descent in America ought to engage in the work of evangelizing their brethren in this land. This duty arises first from the general command of Christ to His Church, which is binding upon all Christians without respect to race or nation: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." "Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," is the mandate of the Great Head of the Church to His followers. If you admit, as you must, that the inhabitants of Africa belong to the human family, and are those also for whom Christ shed His blood in common with the rest of mankind, then you must concede the fact, that *you* are under the most solemn obligations, as well as other Christians, to bring the Gospel to them. You are debtors to them in the same sense that St. Paul was to the Greeks and barbarians of his day. And no fear of suffering, or unwillingness to give up ease and luxury, will justify you in neglecting this positive command of the Saviour. To concentrate therefore your efforts upon yourselves and children, to build churches, institute religious organizations, circulate Bibles and tracts, establish Sabbath and day schools in that land, where these already abound, regardless of the needs of this Continent, where thousands are daily perishing for lack of knowledge, is not, I think, in keeping with the spirit of the command.

Why persist in crowding with churches and temples towns and cities, whose countless spires already point to Heaven, and leave utterly neglected millions of tracts in this land,

studded with inhabitants, where no church-going bell is heard, nor the name of Jesus proclaimed? Why not come here, and let this land share in those choice blessings? Come as an army of soldiers for Christ, bringing with you religion and education, and skill and refinement, and, from the mass of ignorance and superstition here, prepare a people for the Lord. *Here you are needed. Here* is a pressing demand for your Bibles and tracts and churches and educational institutions. *Here* is a loud call for ministers, catechists, and teachers. *Here* is an ample field for all the religious zeal and benevolence that you can bring to bear. Lend an ear to the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us."

Christians of African descent in America ought to engage in the work of evangelizing Africa, *because they are united by the bonds of race*. Who does not admire the noble spirit of Andrew, one of the first disciples of the Saviour? As soon as he became acquainted with the "Lamb of God," he went in search of his brother Simon. Noble act of brotherly affection! "He first findeth his own brother Simon, and saith unto him we have found the Messias which is, being interpreted, the Christ." You have found the Christ the Saviour of the world; you have experienced the effects of the genial rays of the Gospel; you have felt the love of Christ and tasted His grace; you are in the enjoyment of the blessed hope of a glorious immortality, you consider it the most precious boon that mortal can possess. Will you not, like Andrew, think of your suffering, dying brother? Will you not come in search of him? Behold him here thirsting and dying! One draught from the well of salvation will save him. It is within your power to come and point him to those living streams that he may drink and live. Will you come? Do not stay back and wait for others to do this. Let the noble feelings of brotherly love and affection induce you to sacrifice a little ease, a little pleasure, a little wordly comfort, a little refined society, and come to this land by thousands to aid in the redemption of your brethren. Their immortal souls are at stake. Souls for which Christ made so great a sacrifice, for which He suffered and died; you cannot do more. *Come over and help your brethren.*

There is, another consideration upon which I would urge

this duty. *God seems to design you for this special work.* It must be for some wise and benevolent purpose that God has permitted you to survive four hundred years of bondage, affliction, and suffering. It must be for some purpose that, notwithstanding laws and enactments, He permitted so many of you to acquire a knowledge of Christian literature and religion. It must be for some purpose that immediately after the emancipation, He caused such extensive educational facilities to be afforded you, as is now the case. You cannot suppose that it was merely to supply the whites with educated labor. Nor can it be to fit you for the position of rulers and leaders in that great commonwealth. For that country is already supplied with statesmen and political leaders far in advance of you. Nor can I think that all this preparation has been that you may simply live there, a subordinate handful, unseen, unfelt, and unknown in the masses of that country, to bleach out and become extinct. No; I believe it was to fit you to return to your own land, laden with the blessings of Christianity and civilization, prepared to contribute largely to the world's progress in the redemption and elevation of a Continent. Let the four millions of Africa's sons return to the land of their fathers with the Bible in hand. Let them scatter Christian settlements and communities over this country. Let them come with a determination to possess this Continent for Christ, and a greater wonder than the world has ever witnessed will burst forth upon the eyes of gazing nations.

That this work is yours, my brethren, there is no doubt upon my mind. And ministers of the Gospel, and other leading minds in the United States, ought to keep this matter before the people. Instead of filling them with the idea that they have no part nor lot in Africa—instead of drilling them to aspire to a place in a State Legislature, or a seat in Congress, as the acme of glory and excellence, teach them to look to things infinitely higher and more important, viz: the elevation of one hundred and sixty millions of their brethren from ignorance, idolatry, and superstition, to the light and liberty of the Gospel; the opening up of a vast Continent to science and civilization, and the hastening on the glorious period when Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands to God. Teach them

that the schools and academies that are being established among them are to prepare them for this work. Point them to the solemn duty that they owe to their brethren in this land. *A sense of gratitude to God for the signal deliverance which He has wrought in your behalf* call you to this work. Behold what He has done for you! It was not by your might or your power that you have been thus freed from slavery and oppression. Heaven interfered in your behalf, and for the benefit, no doubt, of your brethren in this land.

God seems to be marvelously preparing the way for the possession of this Continent by you, in the explorations that are going on. The interior of Africa, hitherto unknown, is now being thrown open, and its climate, soil, rivers, productions, its unbounded wealth and treasures, made known to the world. Burton, Livingstone, Barth, Speke, Grant, Baker, Du Chaillu, Sims, Seymour, and Selim Aga, are so many agencies raised by a wise Providence, to go out and view the land, preparatory to His great work. Commercial enterprize is made to contribute to this measure. The bays and rivers that are now being navigated for purposes of trade, the factories and establishments through which intercourse is opened with the interior tribes, are so many inlets for the thronging crowds of Afric's children, when they shall come flocking home to their own land.

Let then the commands of Christ—the relation you sustain to the inhabitants of Africa—the moral condition of these our brethren, and the special preparations which you are undergoing by Providence, urge you in considering the question of your present and future movements, *to decide in favor of emigration to Africa*. Leaving entirely out of the question all considerations of a personal or political nature—without saying what you may or may not become in the United States of America—I insist upon it, your duty is to return to your own land, bringing with you the Gospel, to aid in the evangelization of Africa.

Yours, truly,

G. W. GIBSON,

Missionary P. Epis. Church, Liberia.

MONROVIA, May 13, 1868.

EMIGRATION TO AFRICA.

Lines written by the late Professor GEORGE E. DARNLEY, on the departure of SAMUEL HARRIS and his family, emigrants to Liberia.

Now, for the shores of Afric dark,
Our sails are set, and trimm'd our bark,
We seek the land our fathers trod;
Our fathers, ignorant of God.

Controll'd by Him, foul mammon's train
Brought them in fetters o'er the main;
Guided by Him, their grandsons bring
The knowledge of our Heav'nly King.

To spread His name, Colt mbus sought
A hidden world with anxious thought;
To spread His name, e'en Cortez' self
Waded through blood in search of pelf.

Richer than Peru's countless hoard,
Than all her mountains, since explor'd,
Pizarro's bloodhounds love that name,
Which earth's worst tigers yet shall tame.

Mingled by men with cruel deeds,
And lost amid their monstrous creeds,
That spotless name has yet the pow'r
To save in the accepted hour.

To worship God, a pilgrim band
Sought cheerfully a barren strand,
And founded there a savage home,
To shelter millions yet to come.

E'en these pure men too soon forgot
That man, his brother, judgeth not;
Responsible to Him, alone,
Who sitteth on the Great White Throne.

Their sons, too, lur'd by sordid gain,
For fetter'd men, scour'd Afric's main,
And sold him in that southern clime,
Whose natives now they charge with crime.

But thanks to Thee, that good shall be
Brought out of sin and misery,
For we to Afric tidings bear
With which no treasure can compare.

To this far land our fathers came,
In chains, in darkness, and in shame;
With freedom, honor, Gospel light,
We go to make those shores more bright.

Leaning on God, we fearless brave
The perils of the stormy wave,
And face the pestilential breeze
That scourges Afric's tropic seas.

By Thee the winds are still'd in peace,
At thy command disease will cease;
When bless'd by Thee, a people grows,
And the parch'd desert yields the rose.

Rais'd by Thy Spirit's quick'ning breath,
Save us, O God, from sin and death;
Make our example round us shine,
That all may feel the power divine.

Then will the Ethiop stretch his hand,
And Gospel pow'r subdue that land,
The Cross, bright standard, then shall float
O'er men and regions most remote.
The Cross, bright standard, yet shall wave,
O'er Afric's sons, to cheer and save.

DR. SAMUEL A. CROZER.

The admirable memoir of John P. Crozer, a truly modest and most estimable man, long esteemed as an active Director and large contributor to the American Colonization Society, which has been published by the Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia, contains the following biographical sketch of Dr. Samuel A. Crozer, who accompanied the first emigration to Africa, in the Elizabeth, as Physician and Governor:

"Samuel was more than three years younger than John. He evinced in boyhood a strong love for mechanical pursuits, and an aversion equally strong to work upon the farm. Much of his time was spent in his father's workshop, where his skill in making a variety of articles soon brought him into notice. His ingenuity attracted a good deal of attention in the neighborhood, and made him popular with companions who were ever ready to follow his lead. At seventeen years of age he left home to learn the drug business in Philadelphia. Soon after entering upon his city life he was led to sincere and humble faith in Christ, and at the same time began to manifest

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a strong desire for mental improvement. He now changed his business, and entered the machine shop of Large & Co., then the largest establishment of the kind in Philadelphia. He rose rapidly in the estimation of his employers, who seem to have set a high value upon his services. Although busily engaged during the day in labor at the shop, his evenings were spent in reading and study; and, being gifted with a wonderfully tenacious memory, he acquired knowledge with great rapidity. Possessing unusual conversational powers, he could impart his knowledge with readiness to others, and was esteemed a prodigy by his friends and acquaintances. He loved the society of the intelligent and good, and wherever he went was sure of a kind reception. On the failure of Large & Co. in business, Samuel was boarding in the family of a fancy chair-maker, and immediately went to work at that business.

He continued thus until, on the death of his parents, the paternal estate was divided among the children, when he devoted all his time in close application to study, living sometimes in the city and sometimes in the country. His acquirements were wonderfully rapid, and his thirst for knowledge insatiable. The day was too short for his researches, and his studies were continued into the hours of the night. He attended medical lectures, and gave special attention to the study of chemistry. The last was his favorite study, and parlor audiences were at times both pleased and instructed by his experiments. With an increase of knowledge came also a desire to be useful. About this time the Colonization Society was fitting out its first colony to Africa. The attention of Robert Ralston, Francis Markoe, and other gentlemen of Philadelphia was directed to Samuel Crozer as a person well suited to take charge of the enterprise. He engaged in the service with youthful ardour, and sailed from New York in the winter of 1820. He died in Africa on the 6th of April following, on board a little sloop in the mouth of the Sherbro River, only a few weeks after his arrival on the coast.

The interest which the subject of this narrative afterwards felt in the welfare not only of the Colonization Society, but in all efforts for the African race, had its early beginning in the death of this brother, to whom he was tenderly attached."

MEMOIR OF REV. C. C. HOFFMAN.*

The life of such a spirit, devoting itself so unreservedly, so unostentatiously, and with such heroic perseverance and self-denial to the Master's work, could not but be full of interest,

* A Memoir of the Rev. C. Colden Hoffman, missionary to Cape Palmas, West Africa. By Rev. George T. Fox, New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 770 Broadway, 12mo: pp. 365. Illustrated with several tinted pictures of scenes in Mr. Hoffman's labors, two portraits, and a map of Liberia.

and the portraiture here given is simple and faithful, and cannot but inspire all who read it with emotions of gratitude for such an example, and with renewed interest in the cause for which he gave his valuable life.

The accounts of his missionary journeys some sixty miles interior are very interesting. Bishop Payne thus speaks of these labors in an appendix furnished by him to this memoir:

"His journals of tours to Bohlen and the interior, indeed only spoke of the beauties of nature, of people thronging to hear the word, and of the open doors on every side, with ever enlarging circles for evangelical ministrations.

"But the exposure to heat, and rain, and wading over swollen streams and sleeping on earthen floors in small smoky huts, with often the poorest fare and sometimes little or none for most part of the day, told sadly on his delicate frame. Just before his death he made a visit to Cavalla, and though a comfortable home was only five miles distant on one side, and our house only as far on the other, he slept in a native hut, on the clay floor, because only thus could he visit the stations and preach in the villages between the two places. No wonder that when such a good man died, five hundred missionaries, Liberian and native ministers, catechists and Christians should follow him in tears to his grave as their best benefactor, devoted pastor, most earnest and successful missionary, a very 'Barnabas' to Africa and the Africans.

His dying words deserve to be written in letters of gold. 'DON'T GROW WEARY; REMEMBER WHO HAS PROMISED, "Lo, I AM WITH YOU ALWAYS." LET NOT THE CHURCH GO BACK, BUT RATHER INCREASE HER EFFORTS MORE.'"

MEMOIR OF REV. GEORGE W. BETHUNE, D. D.*

No minister of recent date has been more prominently before the public as one of the ripest classical scholars and most gifted speakers and preachers than the late Dr. Bethune. His memoir is therefore one of the deepest interest, and cannot but draw all who may peruse it more closely and admiringly to him. Born in New York, March 18, 1805, baptized in the Pearl Street Associate Reformed Church, studied in his early course in Salem, Washington Co., N. Y., under the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Proudfit; graduated at Dickinson

* Memoir of Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D. By Rev. A. R. Van Nest, D. D. New York: Sheldon & Co., 498 Broadway.

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College, Carlisle, Pa., under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. John M. Mason; pursued his theological studies at Princeton; was licensed by the Second Presbytery of New York, July 11, 1826; began his ministerial labors at Savannah, Geo., in the Seamen's Bethel and among the slaves; first settled pastor of the Reformed (Dutch) Church at Rhinebeck, N. Y., and then successively at Utica, New York, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn, and during all his course almost constantly before the public as a speaker for special occasions, and a writer.

The Colonization Society was a special favorite of Dr. Bethune. His efforts in its behalf were frequent; one of his addresses, that at the thirty-third anniversary of the Society, is given by the editor.

PETITIONS FROM COLORED PEOPLE.

A very wide-spread interest in Liberia is springing up among the colored people of the South, and if they were aided by public or private beneficence, thousands would go to the land of their fathers, and speedily attain a degree of comfort and prosperity which few of them will be likely to enjoy in this country for a long time to come.

As it may be well to know the views of those who have asked Congress for an appropriation to enable them to take passage for Africa, we present a copy of two memorials presented to the Senate.

PETITION FROM MISSISSIPPI.

"To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States :

The undersigned, citizens of the State of Mississippi, humbly entreat your favorable consideration of our petition. We want to go to Liberia. We want to go because we see no prospect of success here. The white people have too much the advantage of us. They have all the land, all the money, and all the education.

These things might soon be remedied if there was plenty of work for us to do, and the people were disposed to favor us, but there are so many of us that we cannot all get work to do, unless we will work for almost nothing. Many have to beg the privilege to work for their victuals and clothes to-day. Besides this, many of the people are disposed to reduce us as low as possible, and get our work for as nearly nothing as possible.

For proof of these statements, we need only refer you to the well-known facts of the last three years. Great numbers of the planters have refused the laborers their pay altogether. More than this: the people generally have labored to prevent the education of our children. Few planters will allow us a teacher of our choice on their plantations, and those who teach us in the cities are scorned and hated.

These things being so, how can we hope to secure homes of our own, or even to provide for our children? Much less can we hope to give them that education which is necessary to fit them for usefulness in life. How can we hope that our children will be any better off than we are, if they grow up as they are growing up now?

If we could get to Liberia, we probably could do better for ourselves and vastly better for our children; but we have no money, and cannot go without help. We suppose, from all we can learn, it will require about one hundred dollars apiece to send us there.

Therefore, we humbly pray and beseech your honorable bodies to look favorably upon our petition, and either send us to the home of our fathers yourselves or enable the American Colonization Society to do so; and for your prosperity and happiness we will ever pray.

Over three thousand of us are waiting to hear what action will be taken in this matter."

PETITION FROM GEORGIA AND ALABAMA.

"To the Senate of the United States:

We, the undersigned, colored citizens of Georgia and Alabama, have the honor to present to your honorable body the following petition:

Having been set free from slavery by the blessing of Almighty God and an act of Congress, we are desirous on account of the animosity evinced towards us as a people, and the injustice and oppression to which we are obliged to submit, and which wrongs are likely to continue so long as we remain here, to return to Africa, that we may better our own condition, help to mitigate the wrongs of the suffering millions of that great continent, and enjoy political, social, and civil equality in the genial clime of our fathers. We have applied to the Colonization Society, but it has not the means to assist us.

We are poor. Many of us are without employment or the means of obtaining any. Many of us have been cheated out of a part, and some of us out of the whole of our last year's wages, and are quite unable to meet the expense of going to another country.

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We therefore petition your honorable body that an appropriation of one hundred dollars (\$100) be made for each person who shall embark under the auspices of the American Colonization Society for Liberia.

And we will ever pray."

The Congressional Globe thus reports the remarks of Senators in offering other petitions received directly from colored people asking for appropriations to help them to emigrate to Liberia :

"Mr. TRUMBULL: I desire to present a petition signed by Charles Snyder, and perhaps fifty or one hundred others, colored persons, in North Carolina, setting forth that they are poor and distressed, that they find it very difficult to live where they are, that the landholders of North Carolina are not willing that they should acquire title to lands, that their wages are not sufficient to support them, that everything they have to purchase of the landholders they are charged extravagantly for, and expressing a desire to go to Liberia under the auspices of the Colonization Society. The petition is a very touching one. It concludes with the statement, 'We have not had one dollar from the Government, no rations, no clothing, or books, no teachers, and we do not know how to send to you: please forgive our ignorance.' It is then signed by these parties, who represent themselves as heads of families, and ask Congress to make an appropriation to the Colonization Society to enable that Society to assist them in removing from that country to Africa."

"Mr. JOHNSON: I present to the Senate a memorial from some two or three thousand colored citizens, living in South Carolina, asking the Government of the United States to give them some aid to enable them to emigrate to Liberia. Their representation is that they are unable to obtain the happiness to which every man is entitled in the condition in which they now are; that the rewards of their labor are barely sufficient to enable them to live; that they have no means of educating their children; and that the social inequality which would seem to be inseparable from their condition is such that they can never hope to be anything else than inferiors in the estimation of the white race. They desire, therefore, to go to Liberia, where there is a republic, consisting of members of their own race, firmly established, recognized as a Government by nearly all the nations of the world, and now in a career of prosperity. I have reason to believe that so far as they speak of the Government the facts justify their statements. They have their schools and a College, which, in point of usefulness, in point of

science, compare well with the best of those to be found within the United States; and many of their State papers which have fallen under my own eye compare also very well with the best of the State papers which have emanated from the Government of the United States. It is but natural that they should desire to be incorporated into a government of that description, consisting of persons of the same race with themselves, and it would have been much better, I think, for the Government of the United States, in every respect, if it could have been accomplished, that the emigration of these persons should have been provided for years ago; and by this time, by a comparatively small appropriation, they might all have been on the African shore, the land of their fathers, and there contribute, and effectually contribute, to the civilization of a country as fertile as any country in the world, and thus to compensate as much as possible for the rapine and robbery by which their ancestors were brought to the United States."

"The numbers show conclusively," as forcibly stated in the last Annual Report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, "the rapid growth and diffusion among the colored people of the South, of the belief that their best interests will be promoted by their emigration to Liberia. This belief is the result of their own inquiries and reflections. There have been in Liberia, emigrants from every southern State east of the Mississippi, ever since the year 1833. From these, by frequent letters and occasional visits, their relations and friends have learned what Liberia is, and what are her possibilities and prospects; and it is well known that in matters bearing upon the interests of their race, whatever is known to any of them is rapidly diffused. It was so in the time of slavery, and is so now. Of their condition and prospects in this country, they judge from their own experience and sagacity. And we see the result to which many thousands have come already, and many more thousands are coming. That white men want them here they have been told abundantly, and they know perfectly well what white men want them for; but they do not choose to sacrifice what they believe to be the best good of themselves and their posterity, and of their race in Africa, for the profit or convenience of white men. They feel also, that in view of their past and present relations to us, they have some claim for assistance in placing themselves where their condition will be better than here. Hence their appeals to individual benevolence through the Society, and to Congress."

There is no reason to suppose that Congress will do anything in this matter immediately. It is to be hoped that private gifts will be forthwith stimulated to aid this emigration.

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From the Burlington (Vermont) Free Press.

THE COLONIZATION ENTERPRISE.

Allow me to state a few facts respecting the origin, progress, and results of the Colonization enterprise.

Forty-six years ago Jehudi Ashmun (a member of the First Congregational Church in this city and a graduate of our College) landed from the brig *Strong* with less than one hundred sable men and women on Cape Mesurado, Western Africa. He guided their counsels, shared their perils, and led them in their defence when attacked by more than five hundred hostile barbarians. His little company pitched their tents in the midst of a people who had superadded to the common vices of a savage state all the vices that savages were capable of learning from long intercourse with pirates and slave traders—upon a coast from which, but the year before, twenty thousand victims were shipped to hopeless bondage amid all the horrors of the "middle passage."

We may here remark that two small companies of blacks had been sent to Africa before Ashmun embarked in 1822. The ship *Elizabeth* sailed in February, 1820, with eighty-six emigrants, and the *Nautilus* in February, 1821, with thirty-three. But on the arrival of these vessels the slave trade was so active, and the natives so leagued with it, that these emigrants dared not land on the Liberia coast. Some of them joined the British Colony of Sierra Leone, on the north; others landed at Sherbro Island. But on young Ashmun's arrival many of these people joined him and his company.

Therefore to Ashmun must be awarded the honor of having given to the African race a NATIONALITY—a thing they never had before—a nationality which is now the centre of attraction to the millions of Africa's suffering children, and an object of scientific and commercial interest to the polished nations of the world.

During the last forty-six years, one hundred and forty-seven vessels have carried out emigrants and landed them in the different settlements. And it is an interesting fact, in which God's hand is to be recognized, that in these one hundred and forty-seven voyages, carrying more than fourteen thousand persons, there has never been the loss of a single life by accident or drowning.

Forty-six years have passed away since the American flag was raised on Cape Mesurado, and what do we see to-day as the result? We see there a nationality for the African race—some fourteen thousand Americo-Liberians, including their children, organized under a republican government, possessing a territory as large as the six New England States. We see two hundred thousand of the natives living quietly under that

government, and so far civilized that they speak the English language and are allowed to vote. We see there some seventy churches, with a membership of three thousand communicants, a part of whom are converts from the native population. Our system of common schools has been introduced there. Three academies are in successful operation, and a College with some twenty-five students and an able faculty of liberally educated colored men. We see there the steam engine, the sugar mill, the cotton gin, and the printing press—that great engine of civilization. Newspapers are published there, and in their editorials, advertisements, &c., we see all the marks of a vigorous and prosperous state. The slave trade has been abolished from its chief seat for a thousand miles along the coast, and mainly by the influence of Christian colonies, who have taught the natives that a lawful commerce in the products of the country is more profitable to them than a traffic in their own flesh and blood. Such are a few of the results of African Colonization. And what has been the whole cost? It has been less than the actual daily cost of our civil war in 1864-'5. The cost, as reported by the American Colonization Society in January, 1867, had been \$2,558,908. Mr. Lincoln was right when he declared the colonization plan “a triumphant success.”

J. K. C.

CLAIMS OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

The following “Address to the people of Vermont” applies to the friends of the colored race throughout the United States, and we trust the object will have the attention it deserves:

The undersigned, members of the Vermont Colonization Society, having been appointed by the American Colonization Society to forward the objects of said Society in Vermont, and considering that the subject is one of great importance to the true interests of the country, take this means of requesting the citizens of the State to give us the favor of their careful attention.

Through the unremitted labors of the American Colonization Society, during a period of fifty years, a new Republic, now recognized by the leading governments of the world, has become established on the Western Coast of Africa. Where half a century ago barbarism prevailed in its most brutal and revolting forms, aggravated by an active pursuit of the slave trade—a trade which was so discreditable to the Christian civilization of the age—there is now a well-organized society of colored persons, possessed of numerous churches, a College,

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seminaries, schools, printing presses, all the elements, in fine, of a civilized country, with commercial and agricultural interests rapidly expanding in their development, and of unlimited prospect in their future growth and extent. It offers allurements of the most attractive kind to every African in a foreign land, who, while seeking for himself a genial home, would aspire to give his race a nationality and a name. While Liberia offers to every colored emigrant the greatest inducements of personal benefit, it at the same time adds the highest incentives to act for the redemption of a hundred millions of the most degraded barbarians on the face of the globe. Every emigrant to her shores, while pursuing his own fortunes, is at the same time performing the part of a powerful and effective missionary to the heathen.

With hearts full of sympathy for their benighted brethren, and with an ardent desire to enjoy the advantages of equal, social, and political privileges offered them by Liberia, thousands of our colored population, after having labored—they and their predecessors—for nearly two hundred and fifty years, for our benefit, without pay or reward, now appeal to the American people for transportation to their fatherland. They ask merely to be restored to the land from which their fathers were torn with violence and crime. Empty handed they turn from the wealth which their long, unrequited labor has helped to accumulate for us, and request only to be returned to their land of promise. They ask for nothing else. But ought we, the foundations of whose government are based upon the eternal principles of moral right and justice, to be content with giving them nothing more? Does not justice demand that they should be paid for every day's work that they have done for us? Is our opinion of Divine justice such that its high court will never exact the whole amount due before we can have full acquittal from the wrongs which we have inflicted and enjoy the hopes of a stable peace?

Such are our obligations as a self-governing people, that we ought to consider ourselves as partly responsible for this grievous, inhuman, and unchristian wrong.

It will, doubtless, be remembered that at the close of the late armed conflict the people of the State hastened to signalize the 4th of July with renewed demonstrations of joy, heightened by the assurance that we were celebrating at one and the same time our nation's birth-day and its escape from imminent peril—from a peril that had come upon us from the oppression of our fellow-man. We can all judge how much money was spent in the festivities of that period—for festivities which after all seemed to partake as much of empty political demonstration

as of that heartfelt mingling of joy, thankfulness, and absolving contrition which was due to the occasion.

Far better would it be, it appears to us, as a demonstration of feeling, worthy of our national birth-day, and the regard which we have for our national preservation, to signalize the occasion by exhibitions of hearty good will towards our colored population, and to do unto them as we would be done by. If we are properly thankful for a nation, for free and Christian government, and for all the innumerable blessings that follow in their train, could it be shown in any better way than by aiding these applicants for our assistance to become possessed of a nation and a government of their own, which they prefer, even as we prefer our own to that of England?

We would suggest, therefore, as a course the most likely to be agreeable to all, that contributions should be made by the various religious denominations of the State, on the Sunday following the 4th of July, or near thereto, for the object of aiding the emigration of such of the colored population of the United States as may wish to become citizens of the Republic of Liberia. We respectfully suggest this course for your favorable consideration, and would state that if such contributions should happily be made, they may be forwarded to the Rev. J. K. Converse, Secretary of the State Colonization Society, Burlington, Vermont.

J. W. PHELPS,
J. K. CONVERSE.

MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Towards this great and good work of Colonization, this State Society has contributed as it could, both in labor and in funds. Its receipts during the year ending April 30, 1868, were \$7,136.70; its disbursements, \$8,579.90; balance due the Treasurer, \$1,443.20, being \$627.49 greater than last year.

Of the whole amount, \$1,106 has been received for Liberia College and paid over to the Trustees of Donations for Education in Liberia, or forwarded to the College; \$1,754.45 has been received from the Parent Society to be expended in its business, and \$1,770.45 has been so expended; and \$2,217 has been paid to that Society in cash.

A large part of the labor performed at our office during the year has been expended in preparing, carrying through the press, and distributing through the United States, the Semi-Centennial Memorial Volume of the Parent Society. This was done by order and request of the Directors of that Society at their Annual Meeting in January, 1867. It is a volume of 192 octavo pages, and, as its title implies, was intended as a memorial of what the Society had done during the first half

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century of its existence. The addresses at the Semi-Centennial Meeting had been arranged with reference to this purpose, and, with the documents and tables appended, show, as could be done in such compass, the rise, progress, and achievements of the Society. Its publication was opportune. Many were disposed to think that, since the termination of slavery, there was no further use for our labors, or even for our existence. Something was needed to call attention to the great and permanent value of our work already done, and to the greatly increased opportunities for usefulness now open before us.

Our history for the coming year it would be presumptuous to predict. It would seem that such calls from so many thousands of the Freedmen must be effectual; must arrest the attention, awaken the sympathy, and secure the active assistance of those who desire their elevation; and that, therefore, contributions must flow into our treasury adequate to their relief. But the calls in behalf of those who will remain in this country are also loud and pressing, and have so occupied the ear of philanthropy that these equally urgent calls have not yet been able to obtain the hearing that they deserve. But perhaps they may obtain it now. It is but a few weeks since they have attained their present volume and intensity. It is a new thing for Freedmen, by thousands, to address Congress, and through Congress the nation, urging their need, their desire, and their claim for such assistance. Congress may be deaf, from pecuniary necessity or other reasons; but in the nation there must be many who will hear, consider, and respond. Their right to choose a country for themselves must be respected. Their claim to a pittance, out of all the untold millions they have earned for us, to enable them to reach the country of their choice, must be acknowledged. Those who desire the Christian civilization of Africa must see and appreciate the openings and facilities which the growth of Liberia will present for the accomplishment of that work, which has for centuries baffled all other forms of effort. The working of such considerations in the minds of men, disposing them to favor our cause, is already manifest, and we confidently trust will go on and bear the fruits for which the great occasion calls.—*Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Massachusetts Colonization Society.*

LATEST FROM LIBERIA.

By the trader Thomas Pope at New York, and the West African mail steamer at Liverpool, we have received letters and papers from Liberia to the 11th of June.

Mr. Dennis, our General Agent, writes: "Since my last ad-

vices, (published in the *Repository* for June,) there have been no more deaths among the emigrants at Robertsport, and no intelligence has reached me of any more among those at Bassa. The last advices from those places informs me that the emigrants are doing well.

"I suppose you have learned before this that our Government has purchased the schooner *Goodhue*, formerly named the *Forest Oak*, of Boston, and is employed as a revenue cutter. She is commanded by Mr. W. H. Lynch, and is now on a cruise below Cape Palmas, to look after some things being done on our southern boundary by the French. It is reported here that they are preparing to establish a settlement of some kind on territory claimed by us."

The *Cavalla Messenger* for May furnishes the following interesting intelligence:

THE SEASON.—The rains come on later than usual this year—or rather the hard rains—for we have had showers through all the "dries." The season has been favorable to farming and gardening. Vegetables have been abundant, and the prospects of the rice crop are very good.

THE COMMERCIAL MARINE of Liberia has greatly increased within the past three years. There are of various sizes at Cape Mount four vessels, at Monrovia fifteen, at Bassa thirteen, and Cape Palmas fifteen, or forty-seven in all. The merchants owning these vessels are now able fully to supply the native market along the whole Liberian coast. In Bassa county there are four foreign trading houses, namely, that of the company of West African Merchants; Messrs. Hatton & Cookson, Liverpool; and those of Messrs. Yates & Porterfield, and Ogden & Roberts, New York. The principal Liberian merchants are Mr. Alexander Horace, Mr. E. Liles in Buchanan, and J. L. Crusoe in Edina.

COFFEE AND SUGAR CROP.—In Mesurado county, in 1867, there were produced 10,000 pounds of coffee; in other counties 12,000 pounds. Sugar crop was 200 hogsheads, or about 200,000 pounds.

STEAMER DAY AT CAPE PALMAS presents a scene of most peculiar interest and excitement. From 150 to 300 canoes may be seen gathering from all directions as the steamer approaches. They come to receive their relatives and friends, who have been to sea, from six or eight tribes about Cape Palmas—some of them from sixty miles interior. These parties have been to Cape Coast, Lagos, Benin, Calabar, Fernando

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Po, Gaboon, and other places to make money, and now return with the fruits of their labor. Guns, powder, cloth, brass hods, chests, and brass pans are the principal articles received in payment. It is surprising to see how much money of such sort they bring. From the Calabar, on the 12th of March, they were receiving their goods for three hours after the steamer's arrival. We have a steamer now at Cape Palmas on an average once a week, homeward or outward bound. Besides the English monthly and bi-monthly, a Spanish steamer comes up from Fernando Po monthly; and this attracts merchantmen, who manage to come in season to meet the mail.

THE REV. DR. SEYS.

The friends of this devoted servant of Africa will rejoice to learn of his safe arrival at New York on the 9th of July, after a long but pleasant passage from Liberia. We are informed that Dr. Seys is in the enjoyment of good health, and expects to return in the fall to resume the honorable position of Commissioner and Consul General of the United States to the daughter Republic. Mrs. Seys, who has resided many years in Liberia, will accompany him.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN 1867.

Late official despatches to the British Government in relation to the condition of the slave-trade have been published in London. Their contents show the following to be the state of this crime against humanity during the past year.

The report made by Mr. Smith, British judge at SIERRA LEONE, sets forth that no captures were made within the waters of that colony during the year, nor from the rivers to the north of that settlement; and he had not heard of a single cargo of slaves being shipped, nor even a rumor of slaving operations carried on there.

From LOANDO the report of Mr. E. H. Hewett, British Commissioner, is also very gratifying. He states that while not a single attempt is reported to have been made during the past year to ship slaves to Cuba from that part of the coast lying between Cape Lopez and Mossamedes, a large number of the men formerly engaged in the export of Africans are devoting

themselves to the more honorable and praiseworthy avocations of regular licit trade.

The British Commissioner at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE has great confidence that the traffic is rapidly approaching extinction, though on the north coast of Madagascar it is still actively carried on. He thinks that few European vessels now find it worth their while to run the risk of capture by visiting the East coast, and running the gauntlet of the cruisers for so long a voyage.

The trade is extensively carried on in the MOZAMBIQUE CHANNEL. Captain Bedingfield, of the British man of war Wasp, says that "dhows, crammed with wretched negroes from Kilwa, are paraded so that we may see them. Men on shore openly boast of the numbers that are sent north every year, and even selling slaves in Bombay."

From HAVANA the report is satisfactory; a circumstance largely attributable to the difficulty which has been interposed by the British and American Governments in the way of slaves being surreptitiously landed in Cuba. Mr. John V. Crawford, British Commissary judge, describes it as "a remarkable feature" that his report is unaccompanied by any statement of the introduction of slaves, and adds that several cargoes of native Africans were rumored to have been landed at different times and places on the Island, but he believes the reports were untrue.

THE LATE HON. EDWARD COLES.

The American Colonization Society has lost another friend and patron in the death of the Hon. Edward Coles, at Philadelphia, July 7.

Mr. Coles was born at Enniscorthy, Albemarle county, Virginia, December 15, 1786. Received his early education from private tutors at home, and afterwards graduated at William and Mary College, Virginia, in 1807. In January, 1810, President Madison appointed him his private secretary, which position he held till the summer of 1815, when he resigned. The next year he was sent by Mr. Madison on a special mission to the Emperor of Russia, with whom some complications had arisen, which our Government was especially anxious

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to have satisfactorily arranged. In 1817 he returned from Europe, and in 1819 he removed to the West, taking with him his slaves, whom he had inherited from his father's estate, and whom he emancipated and settled on his arrival in Illinois. In 1822 he was elected Governor of that State, being the second after its admission to the Union. During his term took place the very important contest in the history of Illinois, as to whether it should be made a slave State or remain a free State, which resulted, after great excitement for two years, in the latter being chosen by a small majority by the people at an election held for that purpose. In 1826 he retired to private life.

Mr. Coles was always an ardent supporter of our cause, giving the American Colonization Society, in 1855, one thousand dollars. He was elected a Vice President, January 19, 1853.

DEATH OF HON. GABRIEL P. DISOSWAY.

Gabriel P. Disosway was born in the city of New York, December 6, 1799, and died, instantly, at his home on Staten Island, July 10, 1868. He was converted while a student in Columbia College; connected himself with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and commenced a career of eminent Christian usefulness that terminated only with his life. He was associated with the venerated Summerfield, in the Young Men's Bible Society of that church; was the principal originator of the mission to the Flat-Head Indians, and saw Jesse Lee and his brother start for that remote region. He was one of the earliest friends and firm supporters of the American Colonization Society, witnessed the departure of the first emigrants sent out by said Society; and the last few months of his life, even to his *last day*, he was especially devoted to the work of raising funds for the promotion of the cause. For many years he had been a Director of the American Bible Society, and often addressed meetings in its behalf very acceptably. He was also an earnest and life-long friend of the Sunday-school cause, and never lost an opportunity to serve and promote it.

He early showed a great fondness for literary pursuits, and wrote both for the religious and secular press with much

acceptance. He published a work on the churches of New York, which was extensively read and valued. In civil life he was a Director of the North River Bank, a trustee of the New York University, and once a member of the State Legislature for Richmond county. As a merchant in the city, he possessed in an eminent degree the confidence of his brethren, often presided at and addressed their meetings; and was at one time a delegate to Washington to confer with the President of the United States on the financial situation of the country. He was always courteous; a Christian gentleman, who lived respected and esteemed, and died greatly lamented. He leaves a much beloved wife and eleven children to mourn a most faithful companion and kind father.

"NEW YORK, July 13, 1868.

"At a meeting of the Provisional Committee in aid of African Colonization the following resolutions, offered by Rev. S. Ireneus Prime, D. D., were unanimously adopted.

'Resolved, That this Committee has heard with painful emotions of the sudden death of our beloved and venerated friend and associate, Hon. G. P. Disoway, and while we record our deep sense of his many virtues, his purity of character, his zeal, energy, usefulness, and wisdom in the cause of African Colonization, we would be reminded of the uncertainty of our own lives and the importance of *doing* with our might while the day for labor lasts.'

'Resolved, That a copy of this minute be sent to the family of the deceased, and to the African Repository.'

"A. MERWIN, *Chairman*.

"D. S. GREGORY, *Secretary*."

ACTION OF RELIGIOUS BODIES.

The following presents the action of important and influential bodies in regard to the work and claims of the American Colonization Society.

At the session of the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, (O. S.,) held at Albany, New York, in May, 1868, it was—

Resolved, That the success of the efforts of the American Colonization Society to establish Christian colonies of colored people from the United States, on the Western Coast of Africa, fully vindicates the practicability and philanthropy of the enterprise, and calls for devout thankfulness to God.

Resolved, That a cause which has done so much to give Christian civiliza-

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tion to a continent, and nationality to a race, is worthy of the continued confidence and support of our Churches.

Resolved, That the desire expressed by thousands of freedmen to emigrate to Liberia are manifest indications that renewed efforts should be made to enable the Society to prosecute its noble work.

The SYNOD OF THE REFORMED (DUTCH) CHURCH, at its meeting at Hudson, New York, June 10, 1868, adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the success of the Colonization enterprise, as manifested in the existence of a Christian Republic on the Coast of Africa, is most gratifying and encouraging.

Resolved, That the large number of freedmen now sending applications for a passage to, and settlement in the Republic of Liberia, demands of the Colonization Societies and the friends of the African race increased activity.

Resolved, That this Synod now, as in past years, recommends the Colonization Society to its Churches and its people, as worthy of their liberal support.

STEAM LINE TO LIBERIA.

The following is a correct copy of the action of the Legislature of New Hampshire, in June, 1868, recommending the establishment of a mail steamship line between the United States and Liberia:

Whereas, the American Colonization Society has planted various settlements of colored men in Liberia, Western Africa, which settlements are organized under a republican government, possessing a territory as large as the six New England States, and containing a population of some fourteen thousand Americo-Liberians, and also two hundred thousand natives, so far civilized that they speak the English language, are assimilated to Christian habits, and are received as citizens into the bosom of the State:

Whereas, from the rapid growth of Liberia, greater facilities for regular and frequent communication with this country are imperiously demanded both by the welfare of the settlers and the interests of our commerce:

Whereas, it is incompatible with a humane and enlightened government to allow so many thousands of its people to remain under all the disadvantages of a new settlement in a far-off land, without the means of regular and frequent communication with the friends and relatives whom they have left behind: Therefore—

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be, and they are hereby, requested to urge upon the Federal Government the speedy establishment of a line of mail steamships between the United States and Liberia.

THE MODERN EXODUS.

The newspapers generally have noticed the presentation, in the United States Senate, in March last, of a memorial of the American Colonization Society, asking aid in colonizing three thousand colored persons desirous to emigrate to Liberia. They had previously stated that petitions had been presented to Congress from fifteen hundred colored persons in North Carolina, and three thousand in Mississippi, asking aid to emigrate to that Republic; and early in April, that Mr. Johnson, in the Senate, presented a similar petition from "several thousands."

At the time of the annual meeting of the Society in January, the number of applications before it for a passage in May was more than two thousand. They were from Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida. Before March 10, it appears, they had increased to three thousand. These numbers amount to seven thousand and five hundred, besides the "several thousands", whose petition Mr. Johnson presented. But there are some duplicates among them. A petition sent from Columbus, Georgia, signed by one hundred and fifty "colored citizens of Georgia and Alabama," says: "We have applied to the Colonization Society, but it has not the means to assist us." This is not one of the petitions previously mentioned, but the number is probably included in the three thousand mentioned in the memorial of the Society. Others have doubtless applied both to the Society and to Congress; but their number can be ascertained only by a careful comparison of the several lists of applicants. But whatever deductions should be made on account of duplicates, the facts show that there is, among the "freedmen," an extensive, rapidly spreading, earnest desire to emigrate to Liberia. This movement commenced in Virginia, in the summer of 1865, immediately after the civil war, and has been growing till it has attained the magnitude which these numbers show. The number who emigrated in 1865, was 181; in 1866, it was 621; in 1867, it was 633; in May, 1868, it was 451, out of these thousands of applicants; and the ship is to make another voyage in November.

Such an exodus deserves attentive consideration. It is perfectly proper to inquire into the causes which have produced it and are sustaining it, and to consider the results which may probably follow from it. The explanatory facts are not doubtful, nor difficult to ascertain. They are matters of definite, authentic record.

It is not necessary, here, to dwell on the movements and influences operating in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, Tennessee, Indiana, and elsewhere, from 1773, till they resulted in the formation of the Society in 1816, nor on the preparatory labors of the Society for the first four years of its existence. Such as wish to investigate those matters, are referred to the publications of the Society, and especially to its Semi-Centennial Memorial, published in 1867. It is sufficient to consider what the colored people of the South have been doing.

As early as 1815, before the Colonization Society existed, pious colored

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people in Richmond, Va., formed an "African Missionary Society," for the promotion of Christian missions in Africa, for which object they contributed from \$100 to \$150 annually, for some years—it is not known how many. In 1818, a similar society was formed in Petersburg, Va., which, in 1819, proposed to the Colonization Society to send out some of its members to Africa as colonists, for missionary purposes. In 1820, nine colored people from Virginia, two from the District of Columbia, and two from Maryland, with seventy-three from other States, emigrated to Africa, under the patronage of the Society, in the ship *Elizabeth*. They were followed, in 1821, by eight from Maryland and twenty-five from Virginia, in the brig *Nautilus*. One of these, Lot Cary, was a leading member of the "African Missionary Society," at Richmond, and received pecuniary aid from them as a missionary for several years; probably till his death by casualty in 1828. In 1822, twenty-five emigrated from Maryland; in 1823, twenty-eight from Maryland, and seventeen from Virginia; in 1824, one hundred and three from Virginia; in 1825, fifty-one from Virginia, thirteen from North Carolina, and two from the District of Columbia. Of these last, four had been slaves, and were emancipated that they might emigrate. Of those in former years, a very few had been slaves, and had purchased their freedom. And so the stream of emigration continued till almost wholly arrested by the civil war in 1861, when there had been emigrants from every slave state except Florida and Arkansas, amounting in all to nine thousand six hundred and fifty-six, of whom three hundred and forty-four had been slaves and purchased their freedom, and five thousand nine hundred and fifty-seven had been emancipated gratuitously, and many of them furnished with liberal outfits by their former masters. These numbers do not include emigrants from the free States, emancipated slaves from the Cherokee and Choctaw Indians, nor emigrants, many of them emancipated, sent out from Maryland after 1833.

Lot Cary, who emigrated in 1821, as has been stated, corresponded with the "African Missionary Society," at Richmond, which contributed annually for his support, and other emigrants corresponded with their friends and relations in the United States. Their friends have written to them, asking for information about Liberia, and they have replied, giving it. This correspondence has been kept up to the present time, and has doubtless extended to every State from which emigrants have gone. Many of these letters have been published; but many more have only been circulated among the friends of those to whom they were addressed. Many emigrants, after residing a few years in Liberia, have visited their former homes for business or pleasure, and have imparted information to eager crowds who have gathered around them. Delegates from different parts of the southern States, selected by the colored people themselves, have visited Liberia to ascertain the condition and prospects of that country, and have returned and reported. In such ways the colored people of the South have kept themselves informed concerning Liberia. They have seen the growth of that feeble colony into a sovereign state, declaring its independence twenty years ago, maintaining

a regular government ever since, holding diplomatic intercourse on terms of equality, and having treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, with the principal nations of Europe and America.

And this interested gathering of information has not been confined to a few localities. These ten thousand emigrants, nearly, have gone from every southern State, except two; and their going has been known to those whom they left behind them, and to many whom they passed on their way to the port of embarkation. The emancipation of a company of slaves would be known to their colored brethren, bond and free, for a great distance round them, and all along their roads, of perhaps some hundreds of miles, to the port where they were to embark. Their destination and their object would be known, and would excite desires to hear concerning their success. In such ways, for forty years, the attention of colored people at the South has been called to this subject, and they have been collecting facts and forming conclusions in relation to it. Their information has not been derived from northern newspapers, pamphlets, and political harangues, but from their brethren of the same race, their relatives and friends; men whom they knew, and knew that they could trust. The result has been, that for many years, many thousands of them have been desirous to emigrate; but, not being their own masters, it was not in their power.

On the termination of the civil war and the establishment of their freedom, the subject presented itself to them in a new aspect. Their circumstances here had changed, and would change still more. They need not emigrate to become free. Would it not be as well, or better, for them to remain in this country? Some could and did make up their minds in a few months. Others needed a longer time to observe, consider, and consult with each other. They have done it; and thousands of them have deliberately concluded that they prefer that country to this as a permanent home for themselves and their posterity; and hence these numerous and urgent applications to the Society and to Congress for aid in emigrating.

These facts sufficiently explain this remarkable movement, and leave no room for conjecture as to the causes. They have not been "persuaded by emissaries" of the Society to make their applications, for it has sent none among them. The movement is purely their own, and expresses their best judgment, in view of facts which they have industriously collected and deliberately considered.

In coming to this determination, these men have felt at liberty to consult their own interest and that of their posterity. They know perfectly well that white men "need their labor." They and their fathers have had abundant cause to know it. But they do not feel bound to make the wants of white men their supreme law. They claim the right to labor for their own benefit, and to choose their field of labor where it will be most advantageous to themselves and their children, and they choose Liberia.

In some quarters we hear the cry, "No expatriation." Nobody is frightened by that word, or by the idea which it expresses. Indeed, the use of

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that word as a bugbear, just now, is an evident anachronism. We have just been having public meetings, stirring speeches, petitions to Congress, and resolutions in Congress, in favor of securing "the right of expatriation" for the subjects of European monarchies. A treaty has just been negotiated with Prussia securing the right of expatriation for the North Germans; and another is said to be nearly completed with Great Britain securing the same right for British subjects. True, North Germans and Irish peasants "are needed as laborers" in "their native lands," and have a perfect right to stay there, if they please. We have always contended that they have also a perfect right to expatriate themselves, if they can do it advantageously, and the monarchies of Europe are at length conceding it. Have not the colored people of the United States the same right?

Whether Congress should or will grant them the aid they ask, Congress will itself decide. The policy of our Government since the war has encouraged them to hope for it. The claim which they had on their former masters for subsistence having been terminated, Congress has felt bound to aid them in making arrangements for their own support. For this purpose Congress has created a "Freedmen's Bureau," and has expended millions of dollars annually. It has expended very many thousands of dollars in aiding them to remove from one place to another, where they hoped to be more advantageously situated, allowing them to choose the places to which they would remove. They may be pardoned, therefore, for hoping that Congress would grant them the same aid, when the place of their choice happens to be beyond the limits of the United States, where they can labor for themselves and not for white men.

The question for us, now, is, whether colored men, who have studied the subject for themselves and made up their minds, shall be allowed to act freely, and avail themselves of the Society's labors, if they choose; or whether they shall be kept in this country against their judgments and against their wills, because white men need them as laborers. And there is the further question, whether, in view of all that they and their fathers have been made to do and to suffer for the benefit of white men, they are not entitled to some assistance in the execution of their choice. J. T.

ITEMS OF INTELLIGENCE.

THE SLAVE-TRADE MADE PIRACY.—The Count de Lavradio, Minister Plenipotentiary of Portugal, and Mr. Gerard Ralston, Consul-General of Liberia, have just exchanged, in London, the ratification of a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between their two nations, one article of which assimilates slave-trade to piracy, and punishes it accordingly. The Republic of Hayti has made a similar treaty with Liberia, so that this infamous traffic is thus declared by at least three civilized nations of the world. England, Holland, the United States, and some other nations, have denounced it by statute law; but only these three powers have proclaimed it piracy by inter-

national law; and in each future treaty to be made by Liberia it is to be hoped that a similar article will obtain. Liberia has now made fifteen treaties with European and American nations, namely, England, France, Denmark, Italy, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Hamburg, Bremen, Norway, the United States, Lubeck, Holland, and Portugal; and it is strongly desired that Russia and Spain should join the other Governments, for it is most advantageous to the young African Republic to be thus recognized, encouraged, and received into the family of civilized nations.

REV. THOMAS FULLER, Methodist minister at Cape Palmas, departed this life April 2, 1868. So "the faithful fall." God buries His workmen, but carries on His work! "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest," for on all fields hands are seen stretched out imploringly.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 20th of June, to the 20th of July, 1868.

MAINE.		NEW YORK.	
Rockland.—Mrs Cephas Starrett,	\$100 00	Troy.—A Lady, by Jas. S. Knowl-	
Bath.—Rev. John O. Fiske, D.D.,	5 00	ton.....	30 00
	105 00	New York City.—Robert E. An-	
VERMONT.		thony, Esq., annual donation,	5 00
Acuteville.—Rev. S. S. Arnold,	10 00	By Rev. Dr. Orcutt, (\$128.)	
MASSACHUSETTS.		New York City.—Moses Allen, \$100;	
Newburyport.—Ladies' Coloniza-		H. K. Bull, \$25; Joshua Danby,	128 00
tion Society, Mrs. Harriet San-		\$2; Cornelius Westerfield, \$1,	103 00
born, Treas.; of which \$30 is to			
constitute MRS. REBECCA		NEW JERSEY.	
WILLS a Life Member A. C. S.	37 00	Newark.—New Jersey Coloniza-	
By Rev. J. R. Miller, (\$2.)		tion Society, by Rev. John	
Springfield.—Mrs. Hannah Allen	2 00	Maclean, D. D., President.....	1,000 00
	39 00	By Rev. Dr. Orcutt, (\$181 50.)	
CONNECTICUT.		Puterson.—Thomas Barbour, \$50;	
Bridgeport.—Legacy of Eben Fair-		DeG. B. Fowler, \$10; John	
child, balance by Geo. Sterling,		Coit, Benj. Salter, A. Derrin,	
executor, \$9,682 61, less Gov't		Wm. Gladhill, David Burnett,	
tax, \$581 35.....	9,286 06	Mrs. Matilda Taggart, Mrs. W.	
Fairfield.—First Cong. Church,		Ryle, Hamil & Booth, each \$5;	
Rev. E. E. Rankin, pastor.....	20 50	E. T. Bell, \$3; Miss Campbell,	104 00
By Rev. J. R. Miller, (\$76.)		Fi.....	
Farrington.—Mrs. Sarah Porter,		Jamesburg.—Col. Presby. Church,	
\$5; Henry Mygatt, \$3; E. L.		to constitute D. R. SCHENCK,	
Hart, Julius Gay, A. Bidwell,		Esq., a Life Member.....	35 80
each \$2; Mrs. M. G. Root, Karl		Princeton.—Col. First Presb. Ch.,	
Klauser, Wm. Gay, each \$1.....	17 00	\$26 76; Hon. R. S. Field, \$10...	86 74
Bristol.—N. L. Birge, Wallace		Rahway.—Misses Shotwell, \$5;	
Barns, each \$5; Dea. A. Norton,		Joel Wilson, \$2.....	7 00
\$2; Dea. Wm. Day, L. Good-			1,181 06
enough, each \$1.....	14 00	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.	
Rockville.—Chauncey Winchell,		Washington.—Miscellaneous.....	1,211 00
\$5; Mrs. C. Bailey, Cyrus Win-		FOR REPOSITORY.	
chell, each \$1.....	7 00	MASSACHUSETTS.—Chelsea.—Mrs.	
Glastenbury.—J. B. Williams, \$15;		L. L. Hinds, for 1868, \$1. Boston,	
Dea. Geo. Plummer, S. W. Wil-		Mrs. Benj. Fessenden, for 1868,	
liams, each \$5; B. Taylor, E. A.		\$1, by Mrs. L. W. Potter.....	2 00
Hubbard, each \$3; Mrs. S. Hub-			
bard, \$2.....	33 00	Repository.....	2 00
Clinton.—Dr. D. H. Hubbard.....	5 00	Donations.....	1,505 00
		Legacy.....	2,286 00
		Miscellaneous.....	1,211 00
	9,382 56	Total.....	\$12,000 81

DEC. 2, 1868.